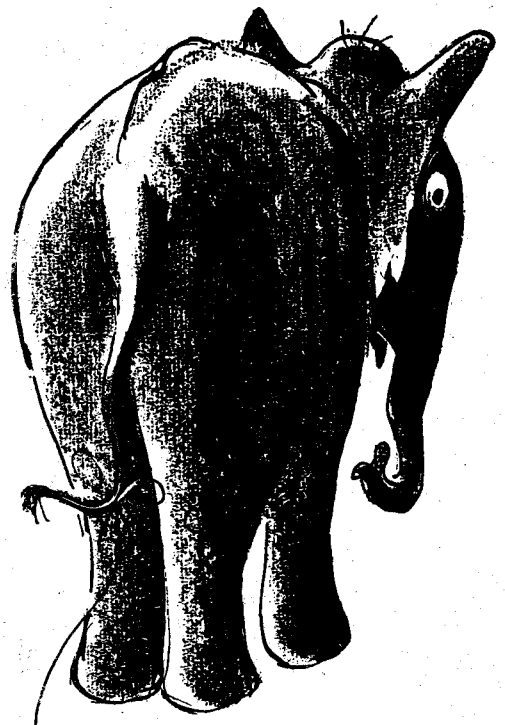
20c JULY 7, 1952

HOW TAFT STOLE THE SOUTH—page 11

New Republic



The GOP: TOO OLD TO CHANGE?

"Politics and Some Poets" by Kimon Friar

Reviews by Isaac Rosenfeld and George Soule

OCT. 3 1952

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Letters

The Fateful Decision

● Many had feared that the more liberal or radical wing of the Supreme Court, appointed by Roosevelt or Truman, might be tempted to uphold the President's seizure of the steel mills. It was just those liberals who made up the majority and held that the President's action was illegal. But what else could they have done? To realize the seriousness of the present predicament let us look back to the nature of the Constitution itself. It may throw light upon the decision of the Court and the character of the Constitution if we look back to writings of the leading historian of the last generation, Charles A. Beard, especially to *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution.* Dr. Beard shows that while the Declaration of Independence was a liberal and radical document in the spirit of the American Revolution for independence, the Constitution was highly conservative as "an economic document drawn with superb skill by men whose property interest were immediately at stake." Far from being "disinterested," five-sixths of the members of the Constitutional Convention were economic beneficiaries whose property interests were increased in value by the Constitution. There was no single vote or voice to represent over half of the population included in the large class of small farmers, mechanics, workers, slaves, indentured servants, women and propertyless poor, for there was a property qualification for voting in every state. It is not surprising that such a body of men included no Bill of Rights in the original Constitution for the protection of civil liberties and of human personality against property. It was natural that Jefferson who was in France was profoundly disturbed by these facts and that he should return to America resolved to battle to the death to add a Bill of Rights to the Constitution and to achieve the democratic "liberty, equality and fraternity" for the common people which had been the ideal envisaged in the Declaration of Independence and in the beginning of the Revolution he had witnessed in France. It is sheer myth-making to say that a Constitution thus drawn up in secret by half a hundred prosperous men and ratified by not more than a sixth of the adult males represented "the deliberate will of the people." Even Chief Justice Marshall in his *Life of Washington* admits that the majority of the small number who voted were against the Constitution as it stood.

Of the 55 who attended the Convention the majority were conservative lawyers representing property interests. Eleven represented the mercantile, manufacturing, and shipping interest; 14 were landowners, 15 had slaves, 24 were creditors who had lent money at interest and over half were investors or speculators in the public securities. "A large propertyless mass was, under prevailing suffrage qualifications, excluded at the outset from participation (through representatives) in the work of framing the Constitution. . . . It was an economic document based upon the concept that the fundamental rights of property are anterior to government and morally beyond the reach of popular majorities." The England of George III was still ruled by 10,000 rich landlords and merchants. Only 160,000 Englishmen out of the eight million could fulfill the property qualification of the right to vote. Charles A. Beard holds that the Constitution was opposed to the Declaration, that it was a counter-revolutionary, Thermidorian reaction, primarily for the protection of property and that it made way for the economic control of the government.

Far from intending that the government should express the popular will, it was designed by a delicate series of checks and balances between the legislative, executive and judicial functions that the federal government should forever stand between the people and the fulfillment of popular desire.

The Constitution provides for a threefold division of power: "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress. . . ." "The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States" . . . and "The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." It is never mentioned or hinted that the Court had any veto power and there was no agreement among the Founding Fathers that the Court had the power to override Congress. In the judgment of Presidents Jefferson, Madison, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt, and others, the veto power was never intended.

Our Constitution is much stronger on negative checks and balances with the danger of ham-stringing the country in a time of peril like the present, than in providing positive methods by which the country may be well governed in time of crisis.

The character of the present Congress is thoroughly in keeping with that of the Constitutional Convention and with the Constitution as an economic document. Many in Congress are rich men or rich men's lawyers. It cost the strongest man in the Senate some $2 million to be elected. Added to this economic status, there is a certain malignant element in our present Congress that did not curse or degrade our prosperous Founding Fathers.

Have we over 10 million of our people in rotting slums in the city and the country and did Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Truman have a bold plan to rehouse those slums? These plans were almost in vain. This Congress and its predecessors would permit no adequate housing for the poor or even for the GIs. The powerful real-estate and other numerous lobbies that swarm about the halls of Congress will seek to see to it that the original interests of property rather than the rights of the personality of free men shall prevail in the interpretation of this economic document.

Very well. Did the Congress throw up their hats with glee at this decision of the Court that put the President in his

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

The Long Road Upward

It is said that excessive progress in civilization leads to excessive leisure time, low morals and barren life. Present-day Japan is too far from that standard. We face a long, bleak road toward attaining a decent standard of civilized life. – *From the Nippon* Times.

Way-of-Life Geography

Mrs. Logan [member of the Citizens Committee on Education examining Los Angeles school books for subversive material] said she recently read a geography textbook which told how certain areas of Russia had the same climate and topography as some sections of the United States, and grew the same products.

She said she resented the fact that the book didn't point out that even if all these things were the same, the way of life was different. – *From the Los Angeles* Daily News.

Free Wheeling

"The best way to fight Communism in this country [Italy]," [says motor-scooter manufacturer Enrico Piaggio] "is to give each worker a scooter, so he will have his own transportation, have something valuable of his own, and have a stake in the principle of private property." – *From* Time.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

WE SNAPPED the radio on last week with cordial feelings toward Ike and shut it off half an hour later with the impression we had never heard a duller speech. This was the big "youth rally" talk from Denver at which he scored the Democrats. What surprised us afterward was to read the laudatory editorials about "Ike's fighting campaign"; there were the same eulogies after the Abilene speech which everybody now privately admits was a bust. We accept this situation with a sigh. All the slick-paper magazines and much of the press are for Ike, and it's their duty to praise him. After the GOP convention next week three-quarters of America's one-party press will praise the man the Republicans nominate, whoever he is, and disparage the Democrats. The voters will then go to the polls and—as it looks now—elect the Democrat. This will astonish the press very much.

We prefer Ike infinitely to Taft. But we were shocked by Ike's concession to political expediency in explaining foreign affairs in his speech. The roots of all our misfortunes abroad are due, he said, to the Administrator's "too ready trust in a godless dictatorship," and he cited China, Germany, the Baltic, the Balkans and Greece. Now this is simple twaddle. The Baltic was taken over by the Soviets before the war ended, and part of it before it began; Greece was a British show; German dismemberment couldn't have been blocked by our trust or distrust of Russia; the man who attributes the Chinese revolution solely to godless Moscow and ignores Asia's own explosive anti-colonial upheaval is an ass. Ike is still preferable to Taft, but after recent speeches it's going to be easier to vote Democrat.

Congress is about through, so let's see what it's done. It has killed Alaskan statehood, the St. Lawrence Waterway and District of Columbia home-rule (the latter was promised in both 1948 party platforms). It rejected Truman's plan to pick postmasters, customs collectors and US marshals by merit rather than spoils. It delayed enactment of regular appropriation bills till after the end of fiscal 1952 and passed 250 petty private bills compared to half as many public bills. Senate absenteeism was unprecedented, amounting regularly to about one-third in the final months. Unlimited and irrelevant debate proceeded unchecked, and reform bills died in committee. The Senate pussyfooted for months on the Benton resolution to investigate McCarthy, introduced August 6, 1951. Meanwhile Congress launched an all-time record number of investigations—225, mostly partisan—which substituted for real legislation. Again and again Congress was more responsive to lobbyists than to consumers: offshore oil, taxes, price controls are examples. Policy control continued in the hands of Dixiecrat committee chairmen, chosen by seniority. McCarthyism and McCarranism were a blight on the Senate. Some good work, of course, was done and some valuable measures passed, but in general it is a sorry mess to recapitulate. New faces in Congress will help, but the fact is that America has outgrown the machinery Congress now employs; the world moves faster than Congress, and it is both demoralizing and dangerous.

The steel strike seems to be breaking up. By "steel strike" we mean the strike of the companies against the US Government for extortionate prices and profits. The wage dispute with the workers was only a secondary matter; it could have been settled weeks ago if the Administration had surrendered and granted the $12-a-ton price boost

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the industry originally demanded. There is some evidence that the steel industry actually wanted a shutdown to work off excess inventory and stampede the government into concessions on prices with the union acting as scapegoat. The public members of the Wage Stabilization Board joined unanimously with labor representatives to recommend a fair solution which now shows every promise of being put into effect. As reward for this, Congress lashed out against the Board. Here was an industrial dispute on which the WSB umpire handed down a decision: if it had gone against labor, it is hard to believe that editorial pages all over the nation would not have hailed it enthusiastically; failure to give such moral sanction to a reasonable settlement proposal precipitated an unnecessary shutdown, now fortunately coming to an end.

The best political speech we have heard this year was given by Gov. Earl Warren here at the National Press Club, and it will be hard to improve it in months ahead. Calm and relaxed, he warned both Ike and Taft that they were paying too high a price in conservatism for Governor Fine's 32 Pennsylvania delegates and that it might cost the GOP defeat in November. He deplored the Party's "atmosphere of undue conservatism," recalled the liberal pledges of the last two GOP platforms, referred to his Party's "withering right-wing" and added something that ought to be carved up somewhere quite high in large marble letters: "Many people consider the things government does for them as social progress, but they regard the things government does for other people as Socialism."

Notes: The US Chamber of Commerce is having an internal row between its internationalist secretariat and a group of isolationist Taft big businessmen who are getting the Chamber to indorse tariffs and all-out cuts in foreign aid. . . . Discount advance delegate claims of both Taft and Ike—particularly Taft's; anybody would be silly to try to predict this contest so let's try it: we rather think it'll be Ike.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

place? Now what will *they* do? It is easy to pass an impulsive law but we cannot become a police state like Hitler's Germany or Stalin's Russia. Who is going to keep all of the 60 million employed people working against their will, if they believe that not only the delay of the President, but the attitude and action of Congress in refusing adequate controls is responsible for the present inflation with its mounting prices and cost of living, which do not keep pace with the profits of the owners. I have often been concerned for our President. Now I am concerned for Congress. Will they be adequate to the present world crisis?

Logansport, Ind. SHERWOOD EDDY

The 1952 Campaign

● It has often been said by both the friends and the enemies of the Democratic Party that its basic orientation and leadership is usually supplied by that group of liberal independents known generally as the New Dealers. In the present preconvention campaign, however, the acknowledged leaders of this group have abdicated this leadership and have shirked their proper task of specifying what candidates would be acceptable to them (Paul Douglas and a few others are honorable exceptions).

These leaders have preferred going along with the "professionals" of the party, who have adopted a "wait-and-see" attitude toward the nomination until after the Republican battle is decided. As a result neither the principles nor the policies of any Democratic candidate has received the publicity that those of both Eisenhower and Taft have. Furthermore the Democratic nominee, whoever he is, will of necessity appear to many suspicious Americans as the beneficiary of noisome deals consummated in some dank Chicago hotel room.

Rather than being a period in which real differences in belief and practice might be discussed, the Democratic preconvention campaign has had only one main feature, the various attempts by the pros to "stop-Kefauver." . . . Of the strong candidates now actively seeking the nomination Kefauver is by far the most acceptable. Barkley is too old, Russell too conservative, and Kerr—let's say Kerr is too oily. New York's million-dollar beauty, Mr. Harriman, doubtless would make a fine President, but given his colorless personality, his probable lack of popularity in the West and South, and his relatively obscure position as a public figure, he would seem a poor bet to be elected to that office. (He would make an excellent opponent for Ives.) There is, however, one man who many—including myself—believe would make a better candidate and a better President than would Kefauver—this is Adlai Stevenson. It is admittedly a moot point whether or not he would accept a draft, but he has had so much time to put himself out of his misery by saying "NO!" just once in a loud tone, and he has so spectacularly failed to do this, that it seems to be time for the liberals of the Democratic Party to assume he is a candidate and to move strongly and publicly for his nomination. It seems fairly certain that, while reluctant, he will accept.

He above all others is the man the Democrats could nominate to beat Eisenhower. He could be presented as an able, intelligent and *liberal* Democrat, as a true alternative to the able, intelligent but *conservative* Republican, Ike. Stevenson has a compelling personality, which he easily projects. This is essential for any candidate against Eisenhower, in order to hold those independent voters whose basic attachment was always to Franklin Roosevelt rather than to the New Deal. These are the independents now greatly attracted to Eisenhower. . . .

Dorchester, Mass. PAUL MCGERIGLE

"Confusion of Manifestos"

● There is a forgivable confusion of manifestos which occurs in Kimon Friar's review entitled "Manna for the Masses" in your issue of June 16.

The line "we reject the cynical portrait of the American reader as a juvenile oaf," which he credits to another publication, is actually from the announcement for *Discovery*. . . .

Discovery is a new literary magazine which will appear next January; it is to be edited by John W. Aldridge and myself, published and distributed by Pocket Books.

Since we are proud of that line Mr. Friar quoted, and since it is one of the cornerstones of our policy, I should appreciate your publishing this letter.

New York, N. Y. VANCE BOURJAILY

The Immaculate Conception

● Your comments on the Supreme Court decision in "The Miracle" case (*NR*, June 23) contain an implicit doctrinal error to which many Catholics and non-Catholics alike are prone. The meaning of the Immaculate Conception is misunderstood.

Webster's Universal Unabridged Dictionary defines the Immaculate Conception as "a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church that the Virgin Mary was conceived without original sin. . . ." The Immaculate Conception is not the same as the Virgin Birth.

Brooklyn, New York DANIEL J. NELSON

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THE GOP CHOICE

WOODROW WILSON, in his *New Freedom*, wrote:

"When I hear an ambitious platform put forth, I am very much more interested in the dynamics of it than in the rhetoric of it. . . . I want to know who are going to do these things and how they are going to be done."

The 1952 Republican platform, written by John Foster Dulles and others, will no doubt seem ambitious and rhetorically sound to millions of Americans. But the nomination of Robert A. Taft would render it void of dynamics.

If Taft and the men who have financed and organized his drive for power are chosen to carry the Republican program forward, then indeed the voice of the weasel will be heard in the land.

It has unfortunately been made clear since Mr. Eisenhower's return to this country that the differences between Taft and himself on domestic policy questions are inconsequential. A deep conservatism marks the thinking of both men. Yet, in spite of several disclaimers which Eisenhower has added to his foreign policy, the great contrast between Eisenhower and Taft in world leadership stands. Eisenhower accepts and inspires world leadership. Taft rejects and dissipates it. The public-relations experts who are making Taft's public face over have tried to convince the public and GOP leaders that the difference between Taft and Eisenhower on world affairs is only a matter "of degree." They have pretended that at 63 Taft can be made over in his basic approach to the world by the words and phrases John Foster Dulles spins at Chicago. No one who respects Senator Taft or remembers an important chapter in recent Republican history will believe that.

In 1920, 31 internationalist Republicans of high distinction, helped out "by the verbal ingenuity of Elihu Root," issued a manifesto endorsing Warren Gamaliel Harding for President as the best possible means for getting the United States into the League of Nations. The Committee of 31 included Charles Evans Hughes, William Allen White, A. Lawrence Lowell, Nicholas Murray Butler, Henry L. Stimson and William Howard Taft. These leaders, torn between their belief in the League of Nations and their loyalty to the Republican Party, chose to disregard Harding's isolationist record in the Senate and to put their faith in his honeyed assurances of reform. As Samuel Hopkins Adams points out, "They were pinning their hopes to thistledown."

The contradiction between Senator Harding's record and Candidate Harding's speeches reminded one historian of the period of the pauper in *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* who admitted that his head was half " 'tater" and warned his hearers that while he might be talking sense at the moment, he never could tell when the 'tater side would take command!

Dr. H. N. McCracken, the President of Vassar College, declined to join in the manifesto of the Thirty-One "for the reason that the names of those signing it will not in my opinion have influence on Senator Harding's foreign policy after election." Of course, he was right. Harding won with the support of the 31 high-minded statesmen. Then he promptly and proudly butchered all prospects of America's entry into the League.

The wishful thinkers in the Republican Party today should remember Dr. McCracken's words. Taft will not change, and the men who would have America continue its world role under the Republican Party are not the ones who will sit at the elbow of President Robert A. Taft.

The difference between the dynamics of Dwight D. Eisenhower and those of Robert A. Taft is demonstrated by the quality and character of the men around them. Conservative and even reactionary as some of Eisenhower's close advisers are, the integrity and forward-looking approach of his advisers is in sharp contrast to the Taft headquarters group. Hoffman is a brave and brilliant man who presumably would be Secretary of State. In contrast Taft "is still a covert and refuge for those who are afraid, for those who want to consult their grandfathers about everything," as Woodrow Wilson described the Tory Republicans of 1915.

Look at the list of those who now stand close at the side of Robert Taft and would presumably march in the front rank of his campaign and a Taft Administration:

DAVID INGALLS, Taft's cousin, and BEN TATE, one of his oldest friends, have been running Taft campaigns since 1938. One is a wealthy lawyer; the other, a Cincinnati corporation executive. Both have steadily

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pressed the Senator to the right. Ingalls, Assistant Secretary of the Navy for air in the Hoover cabinet, helped create Taft's escapist obsession that our world responsibilities end with air power.

THOMAS E. COLEMAN, the GOP boss of Wisconsin who drove the LaFollettes from politics and handpicked McCarthy for the Senate, was the man chosen for the top spot of Taft floor leader in the national convention.

The prominence in Taft ranks of EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN, Col. Robert R. McCormick's personally selected Senator from Illinois, was acknowledged by his being given the honor of making the nominating speech. A self-titled "re-examinist," Dirksen shifted from an isolationist position before World War II to a brief period of internationalism and finally back to the Chicago *Tribune* line during his '48 campaign for the Senate. He labeled the Marshall Plan "Operation Rathole," and declared that stabilization controls will cause hardening of the economic arteries." Because of his superior ability as a speaker and in handling people, Dirksen is slated for a prominent part in the Taft campaign organization. Because of his general ability as a lawyer and legislator, his relationship to the powerful *Tribune's* owner and the fundamental policy agreement between himself and Taft, Dirksen would be sure to have a commanding position in the Taft Administration.

SEN. EUGENE R. MILLIKIN of Colorado occupies a similar and probably equally influential place in the Taft hierarchy. Millikin's intelligence and technical ability are also judged superior by his colleagues and others able to observe. He has been as uncompromising in his opposition to Administration ventures into international co-operation as he has been diligent in fighting to cut taxes. Millikin drafted the plan for tax reduction in the Republican 80th Congress and presumably would be the architect of a plan to carry out the Taft promise of a 15-percent tax cut if elected. Large contributors to the Taft campaign fund could look forward to recovering their money's worth under a Millikin-Taft system of taxation.

CLARENCE BROWN, BRAZILLA CARROLL REECE, and HARRY CAIN are leading Taft actionists in the Midwest, South and West Coast areas, respectively. Brown is frankly suspicious of Taft's liberalism on many scores and has frequently complained of the Senator's radical views on housing, education, health and social security. The intellectually light-weight Brown is not likely to be consulted or listened to by the Dirksens and Millikins. His influence comes in the awarding of patronage and in the selection of the secondary party leaders who establish the character of the Republican Party organization.

B. CARROLL REECE, when he was a member of the House of Representatives from Tennessee, faithfully followed Clarence Brown's leadership. As Southern director of the Taft campaign, Reece has continued to copy the flagrant strong-arm tactics favored by Brown. In a developing Taft campaign, the operating management of the GOP in the South would rest in the hands of Reece, and the possibility of genuine two-party organization in that region would disappear for at least another four years. The system of rotten-borough Republicanism would continue to be the detriment of the national two-party system.

The counterpart of Clarence Brown and B. Carroll Reece in the Northwest is HARRY CAIN, junior Senator from the state of Washington, who in 1949 enjoyed the distinction of being one of the only two Senators to vote against a 70-group Air Force as well as being one of the only two Senators to vote against the Social Security expansion bill. As Brown finds fault with Taft for his lack of militant reaction domestically, Cain regrets the mildness of Taft's difference with Administration Far Eastern policy.

This is the Taft inner-circle. These are the men who, with him, will give meaning to the rhetoric of the 1952 Republican platform. These are the men who will interpret for themselves the general language of the John Foster Dulles foreign-policy plank.

Their collective record is as clear as was the record of Warren G. Harding in 1920. The gullibility of well-intentioned Republicans in supporting Harding, in whom they thought they saw hope for internationalism, contributed heavily to the Republican victory in that year. The complete betrayal of that promise produced thereafter the disenchantment in the voters which led to 20 years of Republican exile from national power.

If Republicans of good will succumb to idle dreams of a reformed Taft who would abide by the spirit of the Party platform, they will invite disaster again. The measure of difference between Taft and Eisenhower is real. Who the Republican Party nominates at Chicago is its own affair. But any true internationalists who turn to Taft on the strength of his last-minute promises will, we predict, live with guilty consciences the rest of their days, as did the Thirty-One of 1920.

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THE WEEK

LIQUOR IN POLITICS

A House Judiciary subcommittee is seeking to find out if there is anything to charges that campaign contributions to the Democratic National Committee helped the liquor companies head off a proposed Justice Department anti-trust investigation in 1948. Small distributors in the industry, while not directly supporting the charges of political influence, have been giving vivid testimony of how the big companies have maintained their control by dictating what brands distributors should buy and how and what they should sell.

The monopolistic tendencies of the liquor industry are a well-known fact. Not so well-known is the extreme interest liquor industry leaders have shown in politics. The big question is not whether the liquor industry has political influence, but how it uses it. Administration officials hotly deny that the monopoly investigation was called off because of industry pressure. Those who are acquainted with the industry's tactics are sure that pressure was exerted, the big question being how much effect it had.

Whether the industry is the proper subject for an anti-monopoly probe is moot. While the giants bought independent distilleries right and left during and after the war years, they still maintain bitter competition among themselves. Schenley's and Seagram's especially are long-term rivals. Moreover, the industry today is in bad straits as the result of overproduction and the high whiskey tax of $10.50 a gallon. From the point of priority the anti-trust division may well have been justified in putting its limited staff to work instead on A & P and the movie industry.

The question of what the liquor moguls are seeking for their money nevertheless deserves fuller exposure than has so far been given. One theory is that their heavy contributions to both the Democrats and Republicans—their most important Washington lobbyist is closest to the GOP—come more from general nervousness about a possible return of prohibition than from a desire to impede proper law enforcement. What investigations have been made of the subject—most notably by a war-time Senate investigation of black-markets and by the Kefauver Committee—however, suggest that important figures in the industry have not hesitated to use their influence with politicians for less general purposes. The question of the war-time allocation of scarce grain, the question of the big distiller relationship to illegal distributors and the question of political influence in the issuing of licenses on both federal and state levels are among the matters into which the committee, headed by Rep. Frank Chelf (D. Ky.), might look with profit.

FINANCING EISENHOWER

SALEM, ORE. (NR Corresp.)

Oregon, which has one of the few corrupt-practices acts of any state, has afforded a porthole through which to view the lavish financing of the Eisenhower campaign.

To carry the primary and Oregon's 18 convention delegates, backers of the General spent $49,407. More than $40,000 of this total came from outside Oregon. In contrast, the committee supporting Gov. Earl Warren could muster a mere $1,373.

Sen. Estes Kefauver spent $2,090 to sweep the Democratic primary in Oregon, and the bulk of this sum was sent from his national headquarters. The backers of Justice William O. Douglas invested $1,345 in the campaign and the effort for Gov. Adlai Stevenson cost $500, all of which was contributed by George Ball, described as a "former law associate of the Governor's."

These parlous Democratic totals compare with the $6,000 sent to Oregon for Eisenhower by the two Warner brothers of the movies and with $3,000 donated by Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors. Others who entered Oregon financially in behalf of Eisenhower were Norton Simon, chairman of the board of Hunt Foods, $2,500; Samuel Goldwyn, $2,000; John D .Hertz of Yellow Cabs and Lehman Brothers, $2,500, and Mr. and Mrs. Wendell W. Anderson of Oklahoma City, $5,000.

Oregon managers for Eisenhower could not even identify all these generous backers. Reporters were told that the contributions were "arranged" by the General's national headquarters in New York City. It was a significant footnote to a so-called "state" primary election that more than 80 percent of the funds spent to swing the primary came from sources far beyond the borders of the state. One wonders if this meets with the approval of the state's righters!

Oregon's director of elections, David O'Hara, said the corrupt-practices law should be amended to require reporting ahead of election day rather than afterward. He also said that national committees backing various candidates should be required to detail the sums shipped into a state. Eisenhower headquarters in the East sent more than $16,000 to Oregon without itemizing the individual donors who contributed this sum.

Oregon is among the few states which has any corrupt-practices act at all. In many parts of the nation, political slush funds are without check, scrutiny or control.

THE GREAT CONTROLS GAMBLE

President Truman, with a choice between something and nothing, had no alternative but to accept the greatly weakened economic-controls bill given him by Congress.

It was 1946 all over again. Private-interest pressure groups, from every economic front imaginable, had swarmed Capitol Hill like locusts. Pressure-sensitive conservatives of both parties, long unhappy about controls, reacted solidly, convincing themselves that the country found controls as distasteful as the private interests. They wanted to wipe them out and bank on prices

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holding the line. They had gambled similarly in 1946 and won—until after the election.

The House voted decisively to remove almost every control at once. On the second opportunity, when a Conference Committee of both Houses recommended a 10-month extension, it decided to limit the extent of the risk and preserve the fiction of controls, particularly over prices and wages. But credit controls were virtually wiped out. Rent controls will end for six to seven million householders now under the Federal Stabilization Program on September 30 unless local governing bodies vote continuance. Officially specified "critical defense areas" will continue with federal controls. Yet, housing at Oak Ridge, Tenn., and other Atomic Energy Commission installations will not be protected.

The new price-control provisions will exempt from the program all fresh, frozen and canned fruits and vegetables which make up 11 percent of the consumer's food bill. And the Office of Price Stabilization is forbidden to upset the prices of fluid milk as set by any state regulatory bodies.

Wage controls will remain in effect, unchanged, until April 30. The program will be continued by the same board as at present except that all industry, labor and public members must be confirmed by the Senate. Public members will outnumber the combined industry-labor strength. The board would have no power to intervene in labor disputes. The feeling is strong among some public members, now on the board, for refusing to continue in office.

OPS Director Ellis Arnall has predicted that the next Bureau of Labor Statistics' Cost of Living Index will rise to new heights. New union wage demands are in the offing. Even in an election year US consumers will be taking it on the chin.

TEN MILLION PRISONERS

The Central Intelligence Agency, which has no jurisdiction in domestic intelligence, employs informers to report on the flight of aliens abroad. One of these, considered reliable, fabricated and turned in the report that Owen Lattimore was leaving for the Communist world. The State Department, acting on the basis of an attitude toward Lattimore unjustified by any public evidence, moved to ban his trip. Now it has apologized.

Lattimore scores this act rightly as government-by-informer. Yet an even more basic issue is involved—the right of American citizens to travel abroad.

The McCarran Act contends that there is no such right. It assumes, as the State Department does, that no citizen may travel abroad without the protection of his government, and that our government will protect only those whose characters and trips it approves. Under the McCarran Act passports are refused automatically to admitted and suspected Communists. Passports may be further refused to any citizen if the Department decides that his character, the purpose of his trip, or his destination make his journey contrary to the national interest.

Under this doctrine, the offense against the national interest may be stretched until any man who expresses unpopular views is held prisoner within the borders of the US suffering punishment without trial or right of appeal. For ten million citizens with relatives and other vital interests overseas, this prohibition can become a devastating form of censorship and is now a clear denial of fundamental rights.

NO MORE MELTING POT

The McCarran-Walter "Iron Curtain" Immigration bill which makes racial discrimination a federal policy is today the law of the land.

First the House, then the Senate, voted to override President Truman's veto of what he termed an "infamous" bill. The lower chamber had 17 more votes than the necessary two-thirds, voting 278 to 113. The Senate had only a two-vote margin, 57 to 26, for overriding.

The Senate vote was unexpected. A gallant fight had been carried out by Democratic Senators Humphrey (Minn.), Lehman (N.Y.), Benton (Conn.), Moody (Mich.), Douglas (Ill.), and Pastore (R.I.). They knew that it would be a one- or two-vote margin either way. However, when Majority Leader Ernest W. McFarland joined Senator McCarran in attacking President Truman's veto, the bill was saved.

When the vote was over Senator Humphrey ripped into his Democratic colleagues who turned against the Administration. "When my party helps to emasculate the controls bill," he said, "refuses to do anything about the 'wetbacks,' and helps to pass such an immigration bill, it's got a lot of explaining to do to the people. A party like that can't win, and shouldn't win."

Humphrey also lambasted the State Department's endorsement of the bill, saying that it had "knuckled under" to Sen. Pat McCarran, who as chairman of a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee handles the Department of State funds.

Four Senators who had announced opposition to overriding were not present for the voting: Tobey (R, N.H.), Kefauver (D, Tenn.), Chavez (D, N. M.) and McMahon (D, Conn.). Three other major contenders for the Presidential nominations, Taft (R, Ohio), Russell (D, Ga.) and Kerr (D, Okla.), were also absent.

The new immigration law is the product of some three years work under McCarran's direction to revise and recodify the hodgepodge of immigration laws which have accumulated during 150 years. However, as President Truman stated in his 3,500 word veto message to Congress, the new law is "embedded in a mass of legislation which would perpetuate injustices of long standing against many other nations of the world."

"The idea behind this discriminatory policy was, to put it boldly, that American citizens with English or Irish names were better people and better citizens than Americans with Italian or Greek or Polish names," the President's message continued.

The new immigration, Pastore told his colleagues, "was born in bigotry, founded in hate. . . ." This is now our official immigration policy.

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THE SOVIET GAME IN BRITAIN

THE BEVANITE left-wing of the British Labour Party sees so red on the subject of US domination of Atlantic policy that articles in the *Tribune* and *New Statesman* contain echoes of the authentically Red *Pravda* and *Izvestia.* And at times Aneurin Bevan seems so much to be seeing eye to eye with Joseph Stalin on US machinations that the Bevanite line can be misused as grist for the Soviet anti-American propaganda mill.

Yet the appointment of Andrei Gromyko as Soviet Ambassador to the Court of St. James, whatever else it may mean, proves that Bevan and Stalin have very different views on the present — and potential — relation of British possibilities to US power within the Atlantic balance of political forces. In a statement which the author of *In Place of Fear* made to the House of Commons shortly before the appointment, he was gloomily defeatist. He took such a dim view of the political importance of London during the US Presidential election campaign that he advised the House to take a recess for the duration.

Stalin thinks differently. Though he may not be optimistic about British political possibilities, he shows—or rather confirms—by the appointment of the top Soviet diplomat to London that he considers the city the temporary diplomatic capital of the world—for the duration of the US campaign.

Since Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden quite obviously share Stalin's opinion of the importance of London, it is to play the diplomatic game with them, rather than against them with Bevan, that Gromyko was named. Moreover Stalin, who is neither a fool nor so much a prisoner of holy Marxist writ as some of his subordinates, has no illusions either about making Churchill and Eden play an anti-American game, nor about splitting Britain away from the Atlantic community. He merely sees the opportunity to do some power-politics maneuvering on the world scale in London while Washington is bogged down nationally in power politics.

The notion of Gromyko's appointment as a turning point in Soviet policy is certainly an exaggeration. At most Stalin can hope that his expert in the veto can find means of getting the British to say no in certain specific contexts. And while US influence can be only distantly and obliquely exerted, the biggest problem of them all in Anglo-American relations can conceivably be affected in a pro-British, if not anti-American fashion. That is the economic problem, the problem of the relations between Britain's Atlantic commitments and its own people's needs. It is quite bluntly the problem of the survival of Britain as a relatively independent "third" empire between the economic empires of the Soviet and US worlds.

For some time, the Kremlin has been shifting its tactics to try to take advantage of the general world problem of which the British dilemma is the most important aspect. The theory is that the US has overextended its political, military and economic commitments; that Britain (as well as France and other Atlantic countries) have been dragged to the brink of disaster by their participation in these commitments; that they will be forced to reduce their shares of participation in the fulfillment; but that the US (even more during the election campaign than before) lacks the political flexibility either to reduce the commitments or to permit its allies to reduce their shares in the fulfillment.

It is noticeable that the virulence of the Soviet press, about which Ambassador Kennan reported with concern, did not extend either to Britain or to Churchill and the Tories. The Soviets have been unusually "correct" in their treatment of Sir David Kelly and Sir Alvary Gascoigne. The biggest bid for trade at the Moscow economic conference was to Britain. And Western Europe is turning to Britain for leadership. The *Monde* of Paris says:

> The Russian leaders are fully aware that Great Britain, solidly supported by the Commonwealth, is the only power within the Atlantic Pact able to speak up to the Americans. Whoever heard Eden and Acheson speak at the Palais de Chaillot last winter was able to judge the great difference . . . one careful to avoid neglecting any chance for lessening tension, the other defiant, fully determined to stick at any cost to the rearmament which is considered the major objective.

But if diplomacy is to be the main Soviet instrument in London, this does not mean giving up or even lessening propaganda and political warfare. The shift in Soviet tactics has been to an up-dated version of the classic Leninistic doctrine—realistic opportunism through the simultaneous use of contradictory methods. Conciliation and toughness, diplomacy and threats are used at the same time, in different places, contexts and situations.

While the Cominform's official organ in Bucharest appeals for the creation of "united popular action fronts" of all workers including Catholics and Social Democrats, local Communist leaders order rioting and sabotage. While one part of the "peace" propaganda screams about the so-called "plague warfare" in Korea, another part stresses legal means to achieve a broad common front of "men of good will" against the New Fascism.

But in general the strategic goal of all these tactical dualities is also dialectically double. On the one hand, it is to exploit situations among peoples, to create mass doubts and tensions that, by stressing the need for economic reform, work against the full US program of Atlanticist rearmament. On the other hand, it is to exploit the situations of nations, to use economic distress and national pride as levers for reducing the kind of tensions that flow into a Cold War beyond the reach of normal diplomacy.

The purpose of Gromyko's assignment to Churchill's Britain is to make the international Cold War less cold, but there is to be no relaxation in the deep freeze of the various domestic Cold Wars.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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RAW MATERIALS ARE GETTING SCARCE

A SKILLFUL rewrite job on some familiar but important material has been done by the President's Materials Policy Commission, whose report was made public late in June. The Commission, headed by William S. Paley, was asked to study the raw-materials question, not on an emergency basis but over the next quarter century. As suggested, there is little that is new in its five volumes; government officials and private citizens have been going up to Capitol Hill for many years to point out the same information and make the same recommendations as the Paley Commission—and sometimes better ones.

This Commission confirmed the well-known fact that the United States is running seriously short of raw materials. If we participate in another major war, we could conceivably be defeated because of this fact. Even if there is no war, soaring prices for increasingly scarce materials might throw our economy out of gear. The Commission points out that:

Since World War I the US has used up more of most metals and of mineral fuels than had previously been used by all countries combined throughout all human history.

Since 1940 we have changed from a surplus of raw materials to a deficit.

Of 74 strategic and critical materials listed by the Munitions Board, we import our total supply of more than 40, and part of our supply of all the rest.

Of the 100 chief minerals, only one-third come from domestic sources, one-third partly from these sources and partly from abroad, and one-third wholly from abroad.

Twenty-five years from now our population is expected to have increased from 151 million in 1950 to 193 million; our working force from 62 million to 82 million, and our gross national product from $283 billion to more than $560 billion. We shall need twice as much mechanical energy; 90 percent more minerals; 40 percent more farm products; 170 percent more water. Other countries that are industrialized now or will become so during the next quarter century will have even larger percentage increases since they start from a base so much smaller.

As examples of American wastefulness, the Commission points out that:

Our extraction methods leave half the usable coal in a coal mine, and more than half the petroleum in the average pool.

Enough natural gas was dissipated in 1950 to take care of 11 million homes.

In cutting down trees, the loss of timber is 35 percent.

We throw away every year tin cans containing 12,000 tons of tin and two million tons of valuable scrap iron.

To ameliorate this situation, the Commission recommends, among other things, that we:

Put an end to restrictive import policies.

Accelerate foreign investment in exploitation of natural resources, with some additional aid from the US Government.

Employ better research and analysis of facts in regard to our own mineral resources.

Retain the present controversial 27.5 percent allowance for depletion.

Make minor changes in the administration of public lands to encourage development of their mineral deposits.

Control exploitation of forests.

Encourage better farm management and more farm credit.

Develop the St. Lawrence Seaway.

Make a four-fold increase in the appropriation for the National Science Foundation.

A weakness of the report is its failure to discuss adequately reclamation, irrigation or major projects for control of erosion. It does little to reassure other nations in the free world which may well be disturbed by the fact that the US, with 9.5 percent of the world population and eight percent of the land area, is using about 60 percent of the raw materials. The Commission does try to reassure these nations when it says

> that the destinies of the US and the rest of the free non-Communist world are inextricably bound together. . . . If we fail to work for a rise in the standard of living of the rest of the free world, we thereby hamper and impede the further rise of our own and equally lessen the chances of democracy to prosper and peace to reign the world over.

In this instance as in many others, the Commission fails to resolve the conflict between its lofty statements on principles and objectives and the painfully real problems by which its members found themselves confronted when they were forced to get down to actual cases. Nevertheless, if only as a new publicity weapon, the Commission's handsomely made-up, well illustrated set of reports dramatizing these problems may be worth the money they cost.

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HOW TAFT STOLE THE SOUTH

by Richard Lewis

THE TAFT-EISENHOWER contests which came bubbling out of Dixie to overflow on the floor of the Republican National Convention at Chicago were the result of one of the most incredible political grabs in modern times, pulled off in the Deep South in the name of Robert A. Taft.

Fifty-seven votes, possibly enough to swing the nomination for either candidate, were involved. A total of 91 contests were filed in five Southern states, but not all the competing delegations were unequivocally pledged.

Predominantly pro-Taft and pro-Eisenhower slates of delegates competed from Texas, Louisiana and Georgia. The Eisenhower organization was washed out of the Florida and Mississippi contests. These were appealed by pro-Taft delegations fighting each other for organization control.

In these five states, and in Alabama and South Carolina, the Taft machine resorted to a number of irregularities to seize a bloc of 107 delegates. It has worked through the Republican Old Guard leadership in the seven states, consisting of a clique of rotten borough politicians who have operated the GOP in Dixie like a feudal fief. The contests developed through the efforts of this oligarchy to stifle a powerful Eisenhower grass roots movement by such devices as holding a precinct meeting in an automobile, county conventions in private homes and ward meetings in hideouts.

The main tactic of the Taftites in Texas and Louisiana was to bolt precinct and county conventions where Eisenhower supporters outnumbered them and hold rump conventions. This created contests which Taftites counted on winning at the state conventions where they controlled the machinery.

General Eisenhower's supporters charge that the seizure of the state convention by National Committeeman Henry Zweifel's pro-Taft organization was the biggest political swindle in the South. Zweifel contended that the Eisenhower movement constituted a plot by Democrats and Dixiecrats to invade the Republican Party. To halt this invasion, Zweifel bolted his precinct convention which he held in his own home and held a rump convention with his followers across the street. In this, the Texas boss established a standard operating procedure. His organization bolted conventions in 31 counties where it was outnumbered, held rump conventions and created contests for 518 delegates of the 1,018 comprising the state convention.

Zweifel's regular organization state committee awarded every contest except one to the pro-Taft delegates. When Eisenhower forces appealed to the floor, they were ambushed by a ruling which permitted the Zweifel-Taft delegates who had been seated by the state committee to vote on their own contests. This ruling was made by the permanent chairman of the convention, who has since been named to the powerful Credentials Committee of the national convention by the Texas pro-Taft delegation. With the convention in pocket, Zweifel's organization elected 34 national convention delegates pledged to Taft, two pledged to Eisenhower and two to MacArthur. Eisenhower forces bolted and held a state convention of their own, elected 33 Eisenhower delegates and five for Taft.

Like Zweifel next door, Louisiana's Republican boss, National Committeeman John E. Jackson of New Orleans, fought to prevent Dixiecrats and other dissident Democrats from filling up the state's paper-bag GOP. The Louisiana Eisenhower organization is led by John Minor Wisdom, whose family was long active in Democratic politics. The running fight between Jackson's regulars and Wisdom's amateur political militia has been called the second Battle of New Orleans. Wisdom forced a primary election and armed with 29 proxies, Jackson and 13 members of the state committee held a meeting and declared the primary void.

The state committee ultimately was forced to concede the election and promulgate the results, which it tried to keep secret, by order of the State Appellate Court. While the court was considering the case, however, the two groups fought it out in the byways of the old city, with no holds barred. At a 12th ward meeting in St. Stephen's Parish Hall, Taftites declared their delegates elected after they won the vote on a minor point of procedure. Then they turned out the lights and marched out, leaving Eisenhower supporters to arrange a rump meeting by flashlight. Wisdom appealed these tactics to Guy Gabrielson and asked the National Committee Chairman to make an investigation of the "denial of the will of the electorate" by Jackson. Gabrielson referred the complaint back to Jackson's state committee. When the state convention met to elect delegates-at-large to the national convention, Wisdom's group contested 41 delegates and lost every contest.

Georgia is the only state in the deep South where Eisenhower backers control a Republican faction which

Richard Lewis reported the 1952 GOP campaign in the South for the Chicago Sun-Times.

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is recognized as the official party by the National Committee. This wing is headed by State Chairman Roscoe Tucker of Dawsonville, an Eisenhower man. Tucker's party is contested by a rival faction headed by Roy Foster of Wadley, a Taft man. All of Foster's delegates are regarded as pro-Taft. Foster, himself, is a long-time Taft man. He and Tucker battled for recognition in 1948. Tucker, who supported Dewey then, won.

In Mississippi, Eisenhower forces, which appear to have a majority of voters, were pushed out of a contest between the "Black and Tans" and the "Lily Whites."

The Lily Whites, headed by George H. Sheldon of Clinton, are an all-white wing of the party formed in 1928 to wrest control of the state GOP organization from the predominantly Negro Black and Tans. Historically the Black and Tans have been recognized as the official GOP in the state under the leadership of its absentee landlord; National Committeeman Perry Howard, a Washington, D. C. attorney. This year Howard was scheduled to deliver Mississippi's five national convention votes to his old friend, Bob Taft. But Sheldon's Lily Whites gained control of the state convention with the support of a strong pro-Eisenhower group led by Bernard W. Chill of Jackson.

The Black and Tans matched the pro-Eisenhower Lily-White slate of delegates with a pro-Taft slate elected in a rump convention and for a while it appeared to be a real contest. This was changed by a State Supreme Court decision holding that the Lily Whites had qualified under the law as the official Mississippi GOP. The Lily Whites, fearing that the Black and Tan state convention could be ruled illegal, held a second state convention. This time, Sheldon switched to Taft and secured the election of four pro-Taft delegates-at-large after pushing Chill's group into the background. One district delegate in the Lily White group, however, remained pro-Eisenhower.

In Florida, a strong Eisenhower movement has been kept out of a contest between two pro-Taft factions; however, Eisenhower leaders believe two of the 18 elected by one of the groups will vote for the General.

South Carolina's minuscule GOP is ruled by State Chairman Edgar Morris, another absentee landlord who resides in Washington, and by J. Bates Gerald, National Committeeman. The two have perpetuated their organization by reading dissenters out of the party. They have maintained an unusual amount of conformity also by issuing cards to the regular membership. Admission to party meetings is by card only. One of the steps in preserving the singular purity of the South Carolina GOP was the expulsion of Gerard Hartzog, who had been a vice-chairman and general-counsel of the organization. Hartzog is under the impression that he was purged because of deviation toward Eisenhower. He challenged the Morris-Gerald group by gathering about him a sizeable assembly of cardless Republicans to invade organization precincts. This tactic failed when it was put to the test in the second ward in Charleston.

When two members of the regular organization arrived and spotted Hartzog's army, they conducted the precinct meeting by themselves in an automobile. Barred from the county convention, which was held in the home of National Committeewoman Mrs. John E. Messervy of Charleston, Hartzog's group bowed to the inevitable and withdrew from the field. At the state convention April 17, the Morris-Gerald faction elected six "uninstructed" delegates, all but one pro-Taft, to the national convention. Asked how the delegation would vote, Gerald said he had voted South Carolina for Taft in 1948 and saw no reason to change his mind in 1952.

In Alabama, Taftites stole one convention vote from Eisenhower by double-crossing the General's supporters on an agreement to split the delegates-at-large 50-50. Taft supporters proposed this deal to induce Eisenhower people to drop an interesting contest in Montgomery County, where a minority of 16 Taftites "elected" a slate of state convention delegates without counting the opposing votes of 117 Eisenhower supporters. The Eisenhower leaders agreed to let the steal in Montgomery County stand in exchange for receiving half of the four delegates-at-large. But they didn't receive half. Taftites changed their minds and nominated three Taft men and one Eisenhower supporter as delegates-at-large.

By this maneuver, Taft men gained a one-delegate majority among those delegates who were committed. Of 10 delegates elected in district conventions, three were pledged to Taft, three to Eisenhower and four were "uncommitted," although they leaned Taftwise. An equal split of the delegates-at-large would have maintained the nominal balance. But the Taft organization wanted to be sure of controlling the delegation. At stake here was a psychological advantage to be gained by having Alabama yield on the roll call of states to Ohio for the placing of the Senator's name in nomination. Alabama is the first state called.

On the convention floor, the Eisenhower supporters, enraged by the double cross, moved to replace one of the Taftite nominees for delegate-at-large with an Eisenhower man, but the motion was lost by eight votes on a county by county roll call. It was lost because the pro-Taft delegation from Montgomery voted against it.

That was the story of the Great Taft Robbery.

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AMERICAN SOCIALISM—A LONG TIME CREEPING

by Irving Brant

ALONG WITH the United States Chamber of Commerce, the American Medical Association, Sen. Harry Byrd, (D, Va.), General Eisenhower and the Chicago *Tribune,* I wish to record my solemn warning against the insidious spread of Socialism in the United States. I am particularly fearful of the doctrines of the Ohio Socialist, Robert A. Taft.

I must add at once, however, that among my ideological comrades I also have my doubts about Dwight D. Eisenhower. He has not succumbed to the public-housing heresy of Senator Taft, but he has rendered himself suspect by declaring in favor of federal pump-priming in periods of depression. Pump-priming is Socialism. Under the American way of life, you don't prime a dry pump. You just keep on pumping, as newspaper correspondents do at a White House press conference.

In basic strategy, Mr. Eisenhower displays the soundness one might expect in a five-star general. It is elemental that you cannot put Socialism into effect without a vast array of people in government service, and you cannot keep them in service without paying them. Nobody except corporation executives will work for the government for nothing, from pure love of country. So, if Congress, out of fear of the people, is unwilling to take a stand against Socialistic legislation, it need only abolish all appropriations and Socialism will vanish.

On this subject Mr. Eisenhower is forthright even if he does not go far enough. He visualizes, some day, a cutting of the federal budget from $80 billion down to $30 billion a year. But he has not adequately portrayed the monstrous evil that has grown up among us. So I commend to Mr. Eisenhower ex-Rep. Peabody of New Hampshire who has dealt with these Socialist hordes. He called on Congress to free the public

> from the intolerable burden they have for a long time been groaning and travailing under . . . in supporting legions of . . . sinecures who appear in swarms like locusts, upon the land of Egypt, and . . . are . . . rioting upon the blood and treasures of the virtuous citizens [if any such there be] in these United States . . . there is not a moment to be lost in retrenching expenditures.

If Mr. Eisenhower or any other of my colleagues in the fight against onrushing Socialism desire to reproduce Representative Peabody's speech in full, it was delivered on March 13, 1780.

Irving Brant is well known for his definitive biography of James Madison. His article is revised from remarks delivered at the Public Affairs Institute of the University of Virginia.

Our descent into Socialism began earlier than is supposed by most political orators, editors and doctors of philosophy. To put the matter in proper perspective, I propose to give a short history of American Socialism, with special reference to the origin and early development of the evil.

Socialism was introduced into America with the invention of the Stakhanovite system in 1754. I am aware that the Russians claim to have invented this system, but they claim everything. Under the Stakhanovite system, employees of the state are paid for piecework—at a rate which advances in geometrical instead of arithmetical ratio to production. An ordinary bricklayer is paid, say 400 rubles a month. A Stakhanovite, laying two to three times as many bricks, is likely to make 2,400 rubles a month, or six times as much. That system was invented in Virginia. The first Stakhanovite was George Washington, who received a bounty of 15,000 acres of public land for enlisting in the French and Indian War. The private soldier, the non-Stakhanovite, received 400 acres, which would more than satisfy the average American Socialist today.

The American Revolution gave a titantic forward impulse to Socialism, partly out of military urgency, partly as an automatic reaction to the establishment of nationhood. Because Benjamin Franklin put out an almanac with some pious adages in it about thrift, he is thought of as a defender of free enterprise. In reality, Franklin was our first Socialistic bureaucrat—the first American Postmaster General. From the humble start thus made in Socialism, we have developed the mighty post-office machine, with a deficit of a billion dollars a year.

Let us glance now at some of the Socialistic activities which are most alarming today.

Federal aid to education. This monstrosity began in 1775, when the Continental Congress voted funds to pay for the education of Indian youths at Dartmouth College. It was extended to white boys and girls in 1787, when Congress appropriated one square mile in every township of the Northwest Territory for support of free public schools.

Nationalization of industry. This frightful evil started in 1777, when Congress established public tanning yards to make leather for shoes and harnesses.

Federal construction and operation of transportation systems. This dates from 1779, when Congress established a ferry on the Delaware River and authorized the building of a highway across Maine, from the Penob-

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scot River to Nova Scotia, in order to bring Canadian livestock into the United States.

Government in the banking business. This began in 1780, when Congress guaranteed the Bank of Pennsylvania against "all deficiencies of losses and expenses." Since the government only guaranteed the bank against losses, and did not share in profits, some people may say that this was not really Socialism—it was a legitimate feature of the system of free enterprise. But wait—the bank of Pennsylvania was a non-profit association! I hesitate to stress this point, realizing that it might set a precedent for absorbing the losses of all co-operative institutions. But truth is truth, and must be told, wherefore I add another exhibit—the setting up, in 1782, of the Bank of North America under federal charter, with the US Treasury subscribing one-half of the capital stock.

Government control of agriculture. Look in the Index to Hening's *Statutes of Virginia* for 1782-84 and read the 170 subject headings which fill seven columns on the regulation of tobacco production and marketing. Clearly those Virginia Socialists were hardened despots. Section 36 of the tobacco code reads: "And be it further enacted. That if any inspector, or inspectors, shall . . . issue . . . more than one receipt for any hogshead or cask of tobacco . . . such inspector or inspectors, being thereof convicted by due course of law, shall . . . suffer death . . . without benefit of clergy."

Social Security. Aside from military bounties, the beginning of this alarming trend lies somewhere before September 15, 1787, when James Madison said in the Constitutional Convention "that there were other uses for tonnage taxes, as the support of seamen, etc." The line is straight and short from that to the Roosevelt-Wagner Social Security Act.

I come now to the saddest story of all—the origin of *socialized medicine.* This occurred in 1813, when Congress financed the distribution of smallpox vaccine throughout the country. It is the more distressing because this unconstitutional measure was sponsored by President Madison, the father of the Constitution.

So far, I have limited myself to detailed features of Socialism which were enacted into law in the early days of our republic. Let us consider broader aspects of the nefarious program. How many of you are familiar with this plank in the American Socialist platform?

"All the precious metals should absolutely be the property of the federal government."

Notice the ruthlessness of that word "absolutely," the disregard of private-property rights, the arrogant assumption that the federal government, rather than the states, should possess this vast resource. This last feature isn't really surprising, however, when you consider who wrote those words—Alexander Hamilton.

As Representative Peabody said, "There is not a moment to be lost!"

If, as I hope, there are representatives of American patriotic societies among my readers, I urge them to act at once. The least that can be done is to remove Hamilton's works from high-school libraries. If anybody objects, it can be pointed out that he was born outside of the US and that his parents were not married.

When a Socialistic proposition is stated as baldly as the one I have just quoted, it is easily combated. But observe what happens when these words are replaced in their context. To quote Hamilton more extensively:

> Mines in every country constitute a branch of revenue. In this, where nature has so richly impregnated the bowels of the earth, they may in time become a valuable one; and as they require the time and attention of government to bring them to perfection, this care and a share in the profits of it will very properly devolve upon Congress. All the precious metals should absolutely be the property of the federal government, and with respect to the others it should have a discretionary power of reserving, in the nature of a tax, such part as it may judge not inconsistent with the encouragement due to so important an object.

There you have the origin of the creeping Socialism that resides in the taxing power and in profit-sharing. Notice the similarity between Hamilton's position and that of the Supreme Court and President Truman on the national ownership and exploitation of tidelands oil. Need we be surprised that the Stakhanovite President, George Washington, appointed the Socialist Alexander Hamilton to his cabinet? We may, however, feel sure of one thing: no man who wrote the words I have just quoted would ever be confirmed as Secretary of the Treasury by the present United States Senate.

Fortunately, not all the messages from the past are those of Bolshevist destruction. Even though the father of the Constitution set us on the trail to social security and socialized medicine, James Madison was a valiant and consistent defender of private-property rights. To the US Chamber of Commerce and all others of my fellow capitalists, I commend his defense of private property in the *National Gazette* of January 23, 1792. The evils of political faction, Madison wrote, could be combated: "By the silent operation of laws, which, without violating the rights of property, reduce extreme wealth toward a state of mediocrity, and raise extreme indigence toward a state of comfort."

A Socialist might read that, and say there was a fly in the ointment. I read it, and perceive some ointment amid the flies. So let us rub it on.

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MEXICO GOES TO THE POLLS

by David L. Graham

IN MEXICO, too, this is election year. The government is a dictatorship, but at least the man who heads it—in accordance with the constitution and the political habits of the country—does not succeed himself. A new president is elected every six years. This much of a democratic tradition Mexico has achieved.

The election itself is a dry run, so to speak, because the candidate of the PRI (Party of Revolutionary Institutions) can't lose. The Mexican Congress must certify the winner, and the Congress is almost 100 percent PRI. Nevertheless, the people are given a chance to endorse the nominee the PRI leaders have settled on, and the opposition can indulge in all the oratory it chooses.

There is always a chance, however, that something might happen. Hence the mounting tension as the big day (July 6) approaches. Rumors, along with the summer rains, are flooding the capital—rumors about possible deals and military revolts. Revolution is a tradition in Mexico. Since 1812, the weary soil has been drenched in the blood of more than a thousand uprisings. Last April's rebellion in the state of Oaxaca was only a footnote on the gory pages of Mexican history, but it is proof that the Mexicans have not lost their political touch.

For even today violence, or the threat of violence, is the only effective form of political opposition. No Mexican is so naïve as to fancy that the monolithic PRI, which has inherited the mantle of the last successful revolution, will ever accept defeat in a mere election. Mexicans are not happy over this state of affairs but they are fatalistic about it. Therefore, when they say "something might happen," they mean that a sizable hunk of the Army might go over to the opposition, and the use or show of force would then induce the PRI oligarchy to relax its grip on the body politic.

The Mexicans have a tradition of Revolution, and the vast majority of them also have cause these days for discontent. As it did to the United States, World War II brought inflation to Mexico. But Mexico started on its inflationary bender long before the war, and the final headache has been at least twice as severe. Wages have been going up, of course, especially in the well-organized industries such as petroleum and railways, where the unions, being the props of the government, have been favored with handsome wage boosts and other benefits.

The unions, once controlled by the pro-Communist Lombardo Toledano, are now solidly lined up with the PRI, with their secretary-general Fidel Velasquez a PRI senator. Toledano now has the backing only of minority groups in several industries, far too trifling to make his Popular Party an important political factor.

But the average Mexican worker, like the average shopkeeper and the average professional man, has seen his income advance but slowly—as is almost invariably the case when inflation gets under way—while the cost of living has bounded upward in huge, ugly leaps. Since 1938, there have been two devaluations of the peso and the cost of living in Mexico City, the only place studied, has advanced by nearly 500 percent.

The majority of Mexico's workers, some 60 percent, are still engaged in agriculture, where the daily wage runs from two to five pesos (25 to 60 cents). What a meager fraction of the modest national income they receive can be estimated from a 1946 study, which showed that although 62 percent of the nation's employed persons were then engaged in agriculture, they were receiving but 18 percent of the national income. Since most articles manufactured in Mexico, from candy bars to steel castings, are more expensive than similar articles in the US, the rural population is thus pretty well priced out of the national market and has to get along by producing locally the bulk of what it consumes.

Living as close to the margin as they do—the majority of them undernourished, poorly clothed and miserably housed—the country people are easy and frequent victims of disease and disaster. Consequently, Mexico still has a very high death rate and thousands die annually from tuberculosis, malaria, dysentery and typhoid fever. Today in the North, due to a couple of exceptionally dry years, some 45,000 aboriginals are in imminent danger of death by starvation. In the South, Mexico's worst scourge, soil erosion, is proceeding at a pace fast enough to reduce the entire state of Oaxaca to a desert within 50 years.

Nevertheless, by increasing output per acre through improved techniques (hitherto very primitive) and by opening up new farming lands by irrigation, the government has been able to step up total agricultural production considerably, so that the per-capita consumption of agricultural products has increased by nearly 30 percent since 1939. By the end of the present century, how-

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ever, according to present indications, Mexico will have 50 or 60 million people—to be sustained by an area that even today has to import more than 20 percent of the food consumed by a population of only 25 million people.

Mexico's urban population has, on the whole, obviously benefited from the intensive industrialization upon which the country embarked about 1940 and which has been speeded up under the present Aleman Administration. The new industries are concentrated in the cities, chiefly in and around Mexico City; and many of the government's public-works projects, needed to sop up the excess labor supply, are in the cities. But the Ministry of Welfare admits that some 900,000 of Mexico City's population are living in the most wretched slums on a few cents a day. Any evening on the swank Paseo de la Reforma you will see women and children sleeping in doorways and ragmen laboriously scraping posters off walls to sell as wastepaper.

As a result of the inflation, the average Mexican is probably worse off today than he was in 1940; fewer Mexicans are able to satisfy their minimum needs. Industrial and agricultural expansion have greatly increased the national income, but a handful of investors take the biggest cut, while Mexico's wage and salary earners get less of the national income now (23.8 percent) than they did in 1939 (when they got 30.5 percent.)

The present policy of the government with its emphasis on industrial development, though offering no precise plan, is the work of the controlling business and political leaders. Business and politics are closely meshed in Mexico, and graft keeps them synchronized and operational. Those in power, seconded by certain labor leaders who are likewise intensely nationalistic, believe that Mexico must industrialize with all speed and practically at all costs—in order, as Treasury Secretary Ramon Beteta has phrased it, "to improve living standards and to make Mexico economically independent."

This is a laudable aim and a sensible one; but it could be, as frequently charged, that behind this façade of public spirit not a few of the nation's businessmen are filling their own pockets, meanwhile calling for ever higher tariffs to protect their shoddy, inefficiently produced products and clamoring for all the favors such as tax exemptions, price-fixed raw materials and guaranteed profits that an indulgent government will grant them. Throughout this transition period, they say, the public will just have to pull in its belt.

What makes the grinding poverty of the Mexican masses all the more tragic, amidst the many truly wonderful achievements in the fields of architecture and engineering, is the great wealth that is accumulating in the hands of the entrepreneur class. Mexico has only a modest income tax—there are sales taxes on practically everything—and those with influence are making fortunes right and left. Very poor Mexico is becoming a maker of millionaires. Yet while the new rich are throwing up their sumptuous villas in Acapulco, Cuernavaca and the suburbs of Mexico City, government workers remain so underpaid that it is tacitly assumed that they will augment their wages with graft.

Mexico, in fact, has become the land of the fix, the shakedown and the squeeze. In order to expedite the simplest business or governmental transaction, you have to sweeten the deal with bribery. The idealistic zeal of the early days of the Revolution, when Cardenas was carrying out his great land reforms, has vanished. People are either cynically aggressive and crudely on the make, or wistfully fatalistic about it all.

What puts the heat on the whole economy, of course, is the boiling population; in 10 years it has increased by nearly 30 percent. It is increasing faster than new wage-earners can possibly be absorbed by industry, with the result that the excess spills over into subsistence farming and into the service fields. In spite of the fact that its whole economy is going full blast, Mexico has a real unemployment problem. Mexico City is full of healthy grown men trying to make a living shining shoes, selling lottery tickets and hawking knickknacks.

Overpopulation, which you don't hear much about in Mexico, where birth control is practically unknown, is a new problem—unlike most of Mexico's problems. For centuries Mexico's high birth rate was matched by an almost equally high death rate. The improvements in sanitation and hygiene accompanying industrialization have slashed the death rate. Smallpox, which used to kill thousands annually, has been all but wiped out. For years to come, it would seem, population increases will outstrip industry's ability to provide.

Politically, the likely new president, Ruiz Cortines, will cause few basic changes. Cortines, whose somewhat mummified-looking visage is on display in probably every city, village and hamlet in the land and whose candidacy has been otherwise promoted in ways distressingly reminiscent of totalitarian techniques, is considered an earnest, capable and none too glamorous executive. But he is a good deal under the shadow of the shrewd and aggressive President Aleman, whom he followed as Governor of Vera Cruz and Secretary of Interior, and is expected to continue present policies, encouraging foreign investors, booming the tourist business, and coddling domestic industry.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

POLITICS AND SOME POETS

by Kimon Friar

OTHER THAN Hart Crane, who belonged to a later opposing generation, many of our contemporary poets of major status—Pound, Eliot, Yeats—have been prejudiced against social democratic ideas and biased in certain reactionary directions. It might be more correct to say they have been antagonistic to any democratic theory of historical progress which seemed to them to threaten spiritual, individualistic, and creative values. Pound turned from dialectical materialism because he thought that Marx, deceived by the importance of labor before the full development of machinery, did not understand the true role of money in historical development. Joyce, according to Herbert Gorman, "never read anything by Karl Marx except the first sentence of *Das Kapital* and he found it so absurd that he immediately returned the book to the lender." Yeats, because he thought that "Man seeks his opposite and the opposite of his condition," because he knew that anything created was the product of warring opposites, discovered similarities between his system and Giovanni Gentile's, in whose works he saw

> the half-conscious foundation of the political thought of modern Italy. . . . It is an old saying of Heraclitus, 'War is the God of all, and Father of all, some it has made Gods and some men, some bond and some free', and the converse of Marxian Socialism.

Yeats and others of his persuasion make more than a mistake in logic to think of actual physical warfare as an exact analogue of the creative struggles of the mind, and must ultimately, like Pound, face the transition from what is metaphorical in the imagination to what is bestial in action.

Fascism cleverly offered a specious inner stability, and by glorifying warfare between nations made it an instrument of mystical exaltation by which an individual might test his spiritual worth. By contemptuously relegating economic welfare to a minor role, by exalting the spiritual, heroic, and mystical destinies of the nation and the individual and offering discipline and authority for their attainment in a world of chaos, Fascism appealed to imaginative, lonely, proud minds in revolt against what seems to them loss of individuality by submission to an amorphous, democratic mass without distinction or integrity. Searching for an order which they could not find in themselves or in the world about them, and being men of letters to whom the word is identical with the weed, such men may mistake metaphor for fact, may accept an order emotionally and imaginatively propagandized, without clearly understanding toward what evil end that order may be motivated. For such men the following passage from Mussolini's *The Doctrine of Fascism* may seem to have been a spiritual doctrine:

> Fascism believes now and always in sanctity and heroism, that is to say in acts wherein no economic motive, immediate or remote, is at work. Having denied historical materialism, which sees in men mere puppets on the fringes of history, appearing and disappearing on the crest of the waves while the real directive forces move and work in the depths, Fascism also denies the immutable and irreparable character of class struggle, which is the natural outcome of that economic conception of history; above all it denies that class struggle is the principal agent in social transformations.

The influence on aristocratic minds of this clever denunciation of materialism, of this call to sanctity and heroism is evident in the following portion of a speech which Yeats delivered in 1924.

> We do not believe that war is passing away, and we do not believe that the world is growing better and better. We even tell ourselves that the idea of progress is quite modern. The world can never be the same. The stream has turned backward, the generations to come will have for their task not the widening of liberty, but recovery from its errors—the building up of authority, the restoration of discipline, the discovery of a life sufficiently heroic to live without the opium of dream.

And yet, later in life, when Yeats wrote some songs for the Blueshirts of Ireland and found to his naïve disappointment that this group was also as materialistic and demagogic as the forces he opposed, he rewrote the songs with such fantasy that no party might sing or claim them; and at the end of *A Vision* he asks: "How far can I accept socialistic or communistic prophecies?" and answers in mysticism. Finally, in an outline entitled "Genealogical Tree of Revolution" for a treatise which he never wrote, Yeats divided all the dualities under the categories of "Dialectical Materialism" and "Italian Philosophy." In the thought and work of such poets as Yeats, Pound, and to some degree in Eliot, we must not be surprised to find a strange admixture of the doctrines of both reactionary and democratic thought. In perhaps a paradoxical sense this is a mark of their sensibility as sensitive reflectors of the contradictions of which they have been part as active members of a transitional capitalistic society. Indeed, the philosophic suppositions of *A Vision* are much closer to those of dialectical materialism than to those of Fascism, and in Pound's declared doctrine is noticeable much that is desirable for democratic social planning.

Since the beginning of Christian disintegration after its complete unity in the spiritual doctrine of Dante and Aquinas, some poets, of whom Eliot has been the most successful practitioner, have sought in various ways to rehabilitate Christian mythology for purposes of private and social cohesion. Eliot envisages a society in which letters and sciences are related to its social institutions by some common Christian belief, and are thus organized into an organic and total culture. He rejects various political forms of totalitarian authority

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because they would be too "artificial," yet he postulates the establishment of ecclesiastical institutions whose rule would surely become equally as authoritative, and as equally totalitarian. Indeed, the emphasis which he places upon certain Hierarchical controls foreshadows a rule which may become—and has often become— dangerously reactionary. Eliot's influence among many younger poets has been instrumental in re-enforcing the resurgence of religious beliefs which a violently transitional age like ours induces. Our transition, however, seems not to be a minor one in which a culture erupts and then adjusts itself, but a major detonation during which the entire culture collapses as a new one arises out of its rubble, as Christianity rose out of the Hebraic and the Greek civilizations.

Yet the dove which announced the coming of the Christian dispensation has been driven from the skies by that metallic bird which released the first atomic bomb over Hiroshima and by its terrible annunciation reduced our civilization to an elemental energy in whose annihilation love alone may survive and be reborn. The consideration that love devised the torment is one we may accept on other grounds than those which impelled Eliot to write:

The dove descending breaks the air
With flame of incandescent terror
Of which the tongues declare
The one discharge from sin and error.
The only hope, or else despair
Lies in the choice of pyre or pyre—
To be redeemed from fire and fire.

Who then devised the torment? Love.
Love is the unfamiliar Name
Behind the hands that wove
The intolerable shirt of flame
Which human power cannot remove.
We only live, only suspire
Consumed by either fire or fire.

The Heraclean shirt of flame has been wrapped about the body of the world not by the single hand of God, however, but by the multiple hands of humanity which with love and its evil genius, hate, have devised our torment and may yet devise our relief. It may be that our age is witnessing, for the first time in history, the final denouement of supernatural causations and the prelude to natural wonders more miraculous than any theological syllogism, and more mysterious. The political doctrines which may be instrumental in our resurrection must be ones in which we may found a natural faith.

[Kimon Friar has given similar consideration to Pound's political position in an anthology which he compiled with John Malcolm Brinnin, *Modern Poetry: American and British*—reviewed in *NR* (June 30) The Editors.]

THEORY AND POLITY

CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM ON TRIAL, by Fritz Sternberg (John Day; $6.50).

BECAUSE IT IS an account of the development of capitalism from the seventeenth century to the present, not in one country alone but in the world, and an analysis of current international tensions deduced both from history and new data, this book attains a stature above most contemporary discussions of public affairs. It is notable also as a well-reasoned contribution to Marxist thought, so long bogged down in the mire of propaganda.

To summarize conclusions of so full and rich a study without tracing the framework which supports them may be unfair to author and reader, but a few are sufficiently challenging to warrant recapitulation.

Soviet imperialism is unlike capitalist imperialism because it is not required for internal stability of the economy but is a response to favorable political opportunity. It can be abandoned if the opportunity is removed. Furthermore, it differs because it promotes agrarian revolution in colonies or satellites instead of allying itself with existing feudal regimes, and forces the pace of industrialization instead of discouraging it.

The Soviet Union will not deliberately launch a world war as long as its industrial capacity remains far inferior to that of the United States. This inferiority will persist as long as one can predict, barring Russian absorption of Germany or a disastrous collapse of the American economy.

The focus of Soviet interest therefore is Europe, not Asia. Yet in Europe Soviet imperialism is now at a disadvantage because the European peoples' levels of living and their experience of a free culture are superior to those of Russia. The reverse is true in Asia; only the Chinese revolution was accomplished without the presence of overwhelming Russian arms on a neighboring frontier.

European capitalism thrived until World War I because it could solve its internal difficulties by colonial expansion, but this solution is no longer possible.

American capitalism was built not on colonial expansion, but on expansion within its own continent. Though the nation is at present exceedingly strong, and though a defense economy will prevent a serious depression as long as the large military program continues, the collapse of 1929 reveals inherent weakness, which may some day again beset it.

American capitalism cannot strengthen itself by imperialism, as did European capitalism until recently, because the United States already bulks so large in world production that there is not enough opportunity for investment or markets in backward regions to make much difference. In any case, colonialism is no longer politically possible.

If Europe collapses economically, Russia's chance to absorb it either with or without war will come. A united Europe could defend itself, but it cannot be united under capitalism. What is required both for economic stability and for military security is democratic socialism in Europe on an international scale. British socialism has led the way.

A united Europe under a democratic socialist regime could not be undermined by economic collapse. It would defend itself against attack by Russia; therefore she would not attack it. Without Europe, Russia could not, and would not, make war against the United States. A socialist Europe is the only possible assurance against world war. Its example would also undermine the dictatorships in satellite states and even in Russia itself. It would favorably influence the future policy of the United States in meeting its internal problems.

Concerning the central point—the in-

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ternal contradictions of capitalism which are sure to bring about its decline and fall after it has reached its full development—Sternberg does not differ with Marx. He interprets the US depression of the 1930s in accordance with this thesis. To me, the central point seems the discovery and application of necessary policies by any regime, capitalist, socialist or mixed. I do not think a shift in class power or in ownership of the means of production is enough to guarantee economic progress. Indeed, I am not sure that if the best policies were known and widely understood, socialism in the formal sense would be required to bring about their application.

I am far from convinced by Sternberg's interpretation of European imperialism. The industrialization of colonial areas, he argues, was prevented by imperialist policy. May it not have had other and less easily reversible obstacles as well? Why did not industrialization flourish in Latin American nations, politically independent for more than a century? And how could the exploitation of colonies be the means of British capitalist expansion and of the rising level of living for British workers for 75 years or so, if the British did not find ample possibilities for industrial investment in the colonies and had to sell their products to impoverished colonial populations?

I strongly suspect that British trade with and investment in independent United States, Germany, the Dominions and other non-colonial peoples, not to speak of expansion within the British Isles itself, so far outranked gains from colonial exploitation that most British workers would not have suffered to the extent of a penny a week, if all the colonies had been liberated in 1776. Indeed, the British people might have gained much more by this course than they would have lost.

Disagreement, however, is merely a tribute to Sternberg's good and honest work. Few recent books have presented theses so well worth study and criticism. His previous studies of imperialism, the economics of war, and the current crisis entitle this new massive work, which he regards as his major contribution, to the most careful attention. GEORGE SOULE

TO WIN BY DEFAULT

THE WISE BLOOD, by Flannery O'Connor (Harcourt, Brace; $3). THE SOFT VOICE OF THE SERPENT, by Nadine Gordimer (Simon and Schuster; $3.50).

THERE IS an unfortunate tendency among religious writers to take everything as grist for the mill; and this is particularly unfortunate when, as in Miss O'Connor's novel, the extremely important distinction between religious striving and mania is ground away. The theme of *The Wise Blood* is Christ the Pursuer, the Ineluctable, with a satire on Protestantism thrown in. Hazel Motes, a Southern preacher, preaches the "church without Christ." To prove his unfaith, Motes sins conscientiously, the way one might prepare for a civil service exam, and in the end, in a supreme act of faith, this unbelieving believer puts out his eyes with lime. It is quite clear what Miss O'Connor means to say by this (though like most paraphrases it sounds unconvincing) Hazel Motes' mutilation is the inevitable consequence of his religious position; there is no escaping Christ. But the author's style, in my opinion, is inconsistent with this statement. Everything she says through image and metaphor has the meaning only of degeneration, and she writes of an insane world, peopled by monsters and submen, Motes the first among them—a world cut off from God, where the escape is complete. In plain words, Motes is plain crazy, and Miss O'Connor has all along presented him this way. Now I don't see how one can maintain that his madness lies in the effort to deny Christ, for he is wholly mad. Nor can one argue that this is what happens to all men, Protestants included, who deny Christ, for it certainly does not. How then can one take his predicament seriously? With pity, yes, sympathy, aversion, fear—all the emotions the insane call out apply in Mote's case, but he is nothing more than the poor, sick, ugly, raving lunatic that he happens to be. If one takes him to be a valid representative of the religious mind, one might as well say openly that all religious people are crazy.

I may have drawn some faulty observations—*The Wise Blood* is not a clear book to read. It has almost no surface, the few figures one can make out in it show in a pallid light reflected mainly, I should say, from Faulkner and Carson McCullers, and most of the transactions are conveyed in a symbolism which does not derive from the underlying meaning of the novel, but rather works the other way, constructing its meaning as it goes along. None of this makes for lucidity, and what I take to be the confusion in its religious ideas is no help.

If this were not a review of two books, I might have let *The Wise Blood* go without further comment, but it gains something from being set alongside *The Soft Voice of the Serpent,* a collection of short stories by a South African writer. Miss Gordimer is much more articulate than Miss O'Connor, has a larger vocabulary (which she makes too much use of, especially in descriptions) and an interest in the surface and qualities of things, which produces in her writing, in its best passages, a considerable amount of objectivity, and in its poorest moments a case of adjectivitis, the "feminine" style. She is also a much more correct writer than Miss O'Connor, her pacing seems to have been timed with a stop-watch and the various characters in this collection, when it suits her purpose, are observed sharply enough to remain distinct from one another, even when there is nothing particularly memorable in the stories in which they happen to occur. (The characters in *The Wise Blood* tend to run together in a sandy blur, like figures seen in passing by the side of the road.)

But while her collection is certainly not a waste of talent, one might well wish to see her talent at work on themes which have at least the same potential as Miss O'Connor's. Even a little of *The Wise Blood's* agony might do her good. She keeps everything at arm's length, and the emotion in her stories is seldom more than suspiration in middle register. (One big exception is "A Watcher of the Dead," which is apparently written from direct experience on a Jewish theme and attains a degree of emotional involvement not to be found in the rest.) For the most part I could not help feeling that nothing matters

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enough. So let me say of *The Wise Blood* that it does deal with one of the themes, and shows a variety of sensibility, out of which the kind of fiction that matters can be made.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

AT ODDS WITH THOMAS

NECESSARY EVIL: THE LIFE OF JANE WELSH CARLYLE, by Lawrence and Elisabeth Hanson (Macmillan; $7.50).

AN ENGLISH-SCOTTISH husband-and-wife writing team specializing in Victorian biography, the Hansons have already set a high standard for thoroughness, accuracy, and interest in *The Four Brontës* and in *Marian Evans and George Eliot*. Now they have achieved the scoop that has long tantalized the ambitions of Carlyle students—putting the much-discussed marriage of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh into a new and sounder perspective by giving us the definitive life of the latter. This was made possible by a full use for the first time of Carlyle collection in the National Library of Scotland and by a searching out of all other relevant materials, including every scrap of the vast correspondence that the pair carried on with the many members of their fabulous circle.

For Carlyle there were from the beginning two Janes—"the earnest, affectionate, warm-hearted enthusiastic Jane that I *love;* the acute, sarcastic, clear-sighted, derisive Jane I can at best *admire.*" It was this continuing duality that prompted him to tell her on her forty-third birthday that she was a "Necessary Evil." When, long after she was married, she read *Jane Eyre,* she remarked that it was "curious how this woman says things that I have said exactly in my own words—which are often absurd and wild enough." Her own nature, like that of the fictitious Jane and of Charlotte Brontë herself, was torn by conflict, and her wit was in part the shield of neurosis. She had a father-fixation that she transferred to her tutor, Edward Irving, and then to his friend Carlyle, without fully realizing that her husband-to-be was thus, like Plato's third-best bed, at the second remove from the archetype, the surrogate of a surrogate. Referring to her father, she wrote to Carlyle during his courtship of her: "You spoke like him; your eloquence awoke in my soul the slumbering admirations and ambitions that *His* first kindled there." On the verge of accepting Carlyle as her husband, she begged forgiveness for concealing from him that she had once loved Irving. A complex attraction and repulsion for Carlyle led her to protest overlong and overmuch that they could never be anything to each other but the most devoted friends. Their sexual relations, such as they were, seem to have been confined to the few years before they moved to London and to have proved their unsuccess conclusively at Craigenputtock, the ancestral home of the Welshes, where two wives had gone mad and another had taken to drink. When Irving, who had married none too happily, all too dutifully, became a religious enthusiast and took to prophesying, Jane observed: "There would have been no tongues had Irving married me."

She was to devote the rest of her life to helping Carlyle maintain the kind of alternation between solitude and society that apparently was necessary for the proper working of his creative genius. Their celibate union, the irreversible issue of their incompatibility, turned into a long "duet of hypochrondriacs," but had its compensations. Mutual esteem and affection persisted. Carlyle satisfied his thwarted libido in the orgiastics of his prose and forgot his connubial incompetence in the grandiosities of his research projects. Jane took pride in the spread and mount of his fame, enjoyed jealousy of the great ladies who liked him as the lion of their salons, and had a succession of decorously intense attachments that included the colorful exiled patriot, Mazzini, the bisexual coquette and authoress, Geraldine Jewsbury, and the dogs, Nero and Tiny. Her death while being driven in her coach, in a posture as much like life as that of Saki's heroine in "The Reticence of Lady Anne," was symbolic of her spirit. Both illness and age were long worsened by the bravery of her wit, which could flash thus on Emerson: "He is perhaps the most *elevated* man I ever saw—but it is the elevation of a *reed*—run all to height without taking breadth along with it . . . " or glance in this fashion at Fielding's *Amelia:* " 'Upon *my honour*' I do not see the slightest sense in spending one's whole existence thro' out three volumes in taking care of one's *virtue!*"

This sense of the essential Jane is seldom forced upon us, but emerges slowly, with much else, from the Hansons' deft ordering of facts and quotations in relatively brief, appropriately titled, withal annalistic chapters. One wishes occasionally that their ideals of effacement, impartiality, and definitiveness could have been relaxed to permit more highlighting, foreshortening, and selection, and thus to have routed utterly biography's three incubi—plodding, clutter, and prolixity. There is no reason why the narrative technique of *To the Lighthouse* or *The Secret Agent* should not be just as relevant to sound biography as that of the *Clayhanger* trilogy. Yet the presence of these incubi is less annoying here than usual, as Jane joins that pantheon of long-suffering but perhaps amply rewarded wives of eccentric creative geniuses who, resolute to stay by their husbands, were spared early death or insanity or divorce.

JOE LEE DAVIS

A RARE ECONOMIST

WESLEY CLAIR MITCHELL, THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST, edited Arthur F. Burns (National Bureau of Economic Research; $4.00).

THIS MEMORIAL volume of 15 essays on the life and work of Wesley Mitchell serves to raise anew questions concerning the state of economics and the ingredients of a great economist. Mitchell died in 1948. Except for Mrs. Mitchell's "personal sketch" and three brief addresses, the essays consist of previously published articles by fellow economists, dealing with Mitchell's teaching, writings, research leadership, and public activities.

Influenced at the outset of his career

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by Thorstein Veblen and John Dewey, Professor Mitchell developed a clear conception of the proper pursuit of economic enlightenment as well as a personal program of research that he followed relentlessly for more than 40 years. His philosophy of economics contained the following principles: (1) Economics should be a quantitative social science built upon a solid basis of factual findings. (2) Economic behavior is not generally calculated and rational, so that it cannot be understood by conjective resting on introspection and mechanistic notions of equilibrium. (3) Economic theory must allow for evolutionary change in institutions and practices that may make previously discovered facts and interpretations obsolete.

In Mitchell's view, economics is still in its infancy and economic planning is inevitable. True, he never reconciled central planning with freedom of enterprise and collective bargaining, and his insistence upon further accumulation of facts before offering suggestions for economic reform encouraged procrastination in the area of economic policy. Despite a lifelong study of business cycles, Mitchell failed to develop a remedy for such economic gyrations, nor does he seem to have recognized fully that statistics do not explain the operations of institutions or the need for, say, minimum-wage legislation.

Nevertheless, his objection to economists giving practical advice on the basis of hypothetical speculation and assumed norms is badly needed nowadays when academics as well as industrialists talk of slicing up unions and enforcing "competitive labor markets."

Comparison of Mitchell and J. M. Keynes, the great British economist, reveals interesting contrasts. Keynes spent little effort in factual accumulation and statistical analysis. Indeed, his *General Theory* contains no reference to Mitchell, although it was undoubtedly aided significantly by the development of national income data, fostered by Mitchell through studies by the National Bureau of Economic Research.

While most economists were busily engaged in embellishing obsolete concepts and constructs, Keynes changed the course of economic thought by developing a new conceptual framework that altered the method of analyzing the level of national output and employment. Realizing the need to break through the crust of traditional modes of analysis, he struck out boldly and stressed, even exaggerated, the novelty of his views in order to raise some dust. The result was the Keynesian revolution in economic thought.

Economists like Keynes and Mitchell are rare indeed. The common variety can, however, contribute to the advancement of their discipline by following Mitchell's precepts and example. Careful observation and analysis, unrestricted by traditional doctrines, point the way to increased economic understanding and improvement in policy recommendations. RICHARD A. LESTER

FOUR MEN OF LETTERS

BENEDETTO CROCE: MAN AND THINKER, by Cecil Sprigge. PAUL VALERY: THE MIND IN THE MIRROR, by Elizabeth Sewell. RAINER MARIA RILKE, by Hans Egon Holthusen, translated J. P. Stern. BAUDELAIRE, by P. Mansell Jones (Yale University Press; $2.50 each).

THIS NEW SERIES of critical works—*Studies in Modern European Literature and Thought*—aims to provide "a library of provocative critical comment on present-day thought and writing." The title of the series is challenging, and when we consider under this title the first four "European intellectual leaders" selected for study (two from France, one from Germany, and one from Italy), the puzzles which naturally accompany such an enterprise immediately begin their bewildering and "provoking" action on the mind of the reader. First of all, perhaps, one questions the word "modern." Baudelaire died almost a hundred years ago; and yet he fits very well into the tone of the series; this is because the word "modern" as it appears in the title is evidently not to be taken in a strictly temporal sense to mean merely "present-day," but to suggest the *quality* of being modern—or, perhaps, *modernism,* which, with its interesting history, still seems to be as good a word as any to describe the modern habit of seeking reality in immediate experience and personal intuition rather than in our relationship to institutions and formalized traditions. But the word "modernism" also has a bewildering range of applications, and the kind of modernism which emerges from the juxtaposition of Baudelaire, Rilke, Valéry, and Croce is not the old-fashioned kind which has long been busily criticizing and reforming religious and social institutions in the light of modern science, sociology, and psychology, but another kind of modernism which seeks its salvation, not in scientific enlightenment (for it is actively anti-scientific) but in creative subjectivity — free, therefore, from dependence on any external reality other than the artistic medium itself. "Awareness of reality," said Croce," is founded upon a distinction of real from unreal images. . . . The intuitions of Art, therefore, are not intuitions of reality or unreality, not preceptions, but pure intuitions."

But Croce himself, as we may learn from Mr. Sprigge's intimate and authoritative volume, has throughout his long and marvelously productive life, been placed squarely and dangerously between "the two great institutional camps in Modern Europe"—the Catholic Church and the forces of Marxist Revolution. Croce's works were put on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* in 1923; but this expulsion from the Church did not endear him to Communism; for, Mr. Sprigge tells us, "no small part of Communist literary output" in Italy in the years following the fall of Fascism "has been devoted to probing the defences of Croce's uncompromisingly negative judgment upon the entire Communist movement." "The Catholic," says Mr. Sprigge, "convicts Croce of refusal to tackle the road of methodic religious exercise and cult, the Communist of a proud rejection of the evangelism of political zeal." A large part of the interest of Mr. Sprigge's book lies in its analysis of Croce's complex con-

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nections with the Fascist Movement and the Neapolitan bourgeoisie.

As for Valéry, he has been called by Eliot the most characteristically modern of modern poets; and Miss Elizabeth Sewell devotes her ingenious study to extracting the essence of this characteristically modern quality; hence her subtitle: *The Mind in the Mirror.* "What is true of poetry is true of the self as well," writes Miss Sewell near the conclusion of her study, "The final image is not the haunted face reflected in the looking-glass. It is the self concentrated inside the diamond of its universe and its mind, a concentration of ice and fire, and in the middle, the play of light and reflection and beyond that—nothing." Miss Sewell's book is very rapid and full of a lively sympathy for Valéry's own method of composition; it is a kind of critical *tour de force,* made possible only by Miss Sewell's brightly illuminated memory of all the various aspects of Valéry's work.

Like Miss Sewell, Hans Holthusen, in his study of Rilke, appears to possess that absolute understanding which combines enthusiasm with the sharpest insight into the limitations of the subject: "Rilke's account of the world," say Holthusen, "as pure inwardness amounts to a violation, a usurpation of the actual world; for there are certain important aspects of man's being in this world for which there is no room in such a cosmology . . . the concrete historicity of our existence, the ineluctable 'here and now' of a real and threatened human situation." As Miss Sewell ends her study of Valéry with the image of a diamond, Mr. Holthusen ends his study of Rilke with the image of a rose; this is a minor stroke of luck for the series if we wish to think of these two volumes as companion pieces in one library; for this difference between the diamond and the rose wonderfully suggests the difference in quality between the poetry of Valéry and that of Rilke:

Rose, o reiner Widerspruch, Lust,
Niemandes Schlaf zu sein unter soviel Lidern.

(Rose, o pure contradiction, joy
to be no man's sleep under so many/lids.)

But what particularly distinguishes Mr. Holthusen's volume is his grammatical analysis of Rilke's style, e.g.: "The poem is a call to the object, to the thing, to unfold itself in language; and this effect is achieved by means of an intricate and delicate system of participle constructions, small relative clauses and appositionally used nouns." Or again:

It is consistent with the relational and functional nature of verbs that they should be particularly suitable for the naming and evaluating of disagreements, disparities and antitheses in this world of objective feeling; for verbs express the tension of felt differences. Accordingly, Orpheus "outlasts" (übersteht) the bowl of roses.

Mr. P. Mansell Jones' study of Baudelaire is learned and expounds with interest the architectural coherence of *Les Fleurs du Mal.* Mr. Jones concludes that Baudelaire was not a "necrological poet": "The poet of Death? Not, surely, in the sense Lanson seems to have implied. Baudelaire is not a necrological poet. As Crépet says, he had no wish to close his book on a cry of despair; to die was to escape 'anywhere out of the world,' to fly at full sail towards an unknown conceived as a new life!" If this is Modern, it is also Romantic!

RUDD FLEMING

A THEATRE MISCELLANY

NAKED MASKS: FIVE PLAYS, by Luigi Pirandello, edited Eric Bentley (Dutton; $1.45).

IF PIRANDELLO, one of the great writers of the century, remains curiously unavailable to us, is it because he needs to be rehabilitated for us, or because we need to be rehabilitated for him? Eric Bentley here performs the first service as well as we might ask. English and American dramatic studies of Pirandello have been so peripheral or inconsequential that Bentley's twenty page introduction to *Naked Masks* easily surpasses the previously published criticism. He displays a close acquaintance with all of Pirandello's work (much of it lamentably still untranslated) and with continental criticism of it. He has translated Pirandello's revealing preface to *Six Characters.* An appendix provides the only sensible account of Pirandello's connection with Fascism that I have seen.

The first appearance in English of Pirandello's remarkably cheerful *Liolà,* a play that delights by its own merits and also contains most of Pirandello's "ideas," makes an otherwise conventional anthology useful both to theatres and readers. Bentley and Gerardo Guerrieri have produced a neutral translation of *Liolà* that should readily offer itself to production in any chosen "folk" style and still remain faithful to the original, but how useful or accurate are the hackneyed translations of the other plays, marred by Storer's heavy-handed prosiness and Livingston's arbitrary interpolations? Why not Bentley's own superbly playable *Right You Are* and Denis Johnston's superior *Six Characters?*

And again on the negative side, why did Dutton allow the book to appear with so many typographical errors (noted on an errata list supplied to reviewers, but apparently not for purchasers)?

Bentley's revaluation convincingly demonstrates that Pirandello's famous ideas about illusion and reality are no more a compulsive toying with philosophy than his dramatic tricks are gratuitous experimentalism. He puts Pirandello directly in line with our dominant modern problem: the isolation of the individual from society and from himself; and sees Pirandello arguing in favor of the genuineness of human passion in a world of social façades and prohibitions, even though that passion is sustained by personal illusions. Pirandello confronts the existentialist dilemma by destroying the illusions of convention, and by insisting that life be acted out to test its essential passions and to acquire validity, since life in stasis is only the deadest form of life.

Bentley's analysis should give a new vitality to Pirandello. It certainly offers instructive suggestions to any producer of the plays. But are we ready for Pirandello? Everyone from Faulkner to Louis B. Mayer has been telling us to surrender our intellectuality and to look

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straight into the human heart. The means provided are all anti-Pirandellian: the monstrous illusion of total commitment, the lopsided illusion of "find the good," the thick skulled illusion of "the simple will suffice." Pirandello in this climate is likely to be regarded as an exponent of the cerebrally over-complicated, for he found that the heart is difficult to get at, that for most people reality is easier to fabricate than to construct, and that personal joy results from the struggle to throw off the general conviction that joy is easily obtained. In viewing life as theatre Pirandello assumed a relationship between the inquiring intellect and passion. Is this assumption really available to an age that prefers to be theatrical in a sentimental fashion, and manipulates life in terms of the shallow magic of show business? THEODORE HOFFMAN

CHEKHOV THE DRAMATIST, by David Magarshack (Auvergne; $4.50).

ALONG WITH Mr. Magarshack's *Stanislavsky, a Life,* published here last year by Chanticleer Press, *Chekhov the Dramatist* gives us the fullest account of the greatest modern Russian playwright and his theatre yet available in English. Both books are enlivened by a rather passionate polemic. In his *Stanislavsky,* Mr. Magarshack breaks down our presupposition that Stanislavsky is adequately defined by the Naturalism of some of his productions or by the Method in which he trained his actors; he presents us with the far more interesting spectacle of a genius goaded on by a sense of insufficiency—one might almost say an insufficient man who *became* a genius through patience and purity.

Chekhov proved a harder nut to crack, and Mr. Magarshack's critical equipment scarcely proves equal to the subtler task. He is entitled to debunk the spurious over-soulful Chekhovism of many productions that we see, though in America it seems odd that a critic should still think himself original in making such points: Stark Young handled them in the *New Republic* and elsewhere fifteen years ago. More important, Mr. Magarshack empties out the baby with the bath by giving us a Chekhov who is too cheery by half, the optimist Chekhov of the party line. Though Mr. Magarshack seems to think his case proved by certain comments of Chekhov himself, I for one am far from convinced. Even when he retranslates the end of the *Three Sisters* specifically to demonstrate how positive and "gay" it is, you can read his text three times and feel nothing but sadness.

Both books are essential reading in the field and valuable within their spiritual and critical limitations. Not that they are free of limitations on the scholarly side: no bibliographies, insufficient indication of sources, tantalizingly skimpy treatment of obvious big subjects (e.g. Stanislavsky and the Soviet Government), excessive narrowness of reference (e.g. over-quotation of *My Life in Art,* little comprehension of the general cultural and social background).

I must end with a plea for the publication of the basic documents—the complete works of Chekhov and Stanislavsky—in English. Up to now, critics who know Russian have had it easy. If the basic material were available in English we could do without most of their books and make up our minds for ourselves. ERIC BENTLEY

A SOVIET THEATRE SKETCH BOOK, by Joseph Macleod (Auvergne; $2.75).

J. DONALD ADAMS, with a home study course from the Jefferson School, and Carmel Snow as his editor, could knock off Macleod's pulpy fiction in a week. Macleod's earlier books contain much useful information about contemporary Russian theatre. Here he produces only a saccharine account of Soviet citizens attending the theatre: a simple, generous, brave, and trusting people whose personal problems are solved by de-pessimized Chekhov, elaborately staged fairy tales, and absolutely truthful exposes of American life, with a few details changed only to accommodate the material to the experience and political development of the audience. The Macleod mush may eventually replace the old-fashioned Margaret Webster gush, but will that prove society the healthier? T. H.

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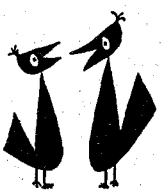

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Bosses' choice—
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For months (and in other years) the *New Republic* has assailed the convention system, has reminded its readers that a small group of politicians can manipulate vest-pocket delegates, make deals in their own interest and award the nomination to the candidate they agree upon. The choice of the electorate can be lightly disregarded.

As the Republicans convene in Chicago the country is acutely aware of this defect in our democratic process, not as yet corrected by the primary which is too frequently merely a "beauty contest." Cynical men, sitting in the seats of party power, may make a fateful choice with consequences no one can foresee.

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